1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

medieval Europe. One certainly should not expect critical, historical precision in them; however, the Balinese view of that period finds clear expression. The data may be summarized briefly as follows.[17]

During the reign of the second ruler of Majapahit (1309–1328), the king of Bedahulu,[18] Pasungrigih or Pasunggiri, was defeated by Arya Damar in conjunction with Gajah Mada. This did not mean the complete subjection of Bali, however; for that a second expediton was needed. According to one account, Gajah Mada put the new expedition in charge of Kapakisan, accompanied by a number of nobles from Majapahit. Kapakisan took along all the paraphernalia for a *kraton*, including his robes of office and a creese. The other version gives virtually the same account of this episode, but mentions Arya Damar as commander. After the rebellious elements – among whom the people of the mountain villages played an important rôle – had been brought to heel, Kapakisan established himself as ruler of Bali and founded a *kraton* at Samprangan (in the present-day region of Gianyar); the nobles of Majapahit became the peers of his realm. This according to the *Pĕmĕnchangah* account.[19] The *Usana Jawa*, however, recounts that after the second victory the ruler of Majapahit himself went to Bali. There he had to take up arms once more, this time against a certain Mrajadanawa, whom he defeated in Bedahulu. Then he transferred his *kraton* from Majapahit to Gelgel.

What the *Pĕmĕnchangah* and the *Usana Jawa* relate finds its continuation in the further history of Bali, both in the political-dynastic and in the cultural fields. The dynastic centre was probably transferred from Samprangan to Gelgel as early as the second or third generation,[20] and between 1650 and 1686 from there to nearby Klungkung,[21] which up to the present century has remained the residence of the *dewa agung*, at first in practice, but later usually only in theory, the chief ruler of Bali. The other princes and princelings traced their ancestry and their authority to the nobles of Majapahit who accompanied the Javanese commander on his expedition to Bali.

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

4

The Historicity of the Tradition

Neither the supernatural features in the Jayaprana ballad nor the fact that the subject is a general theme in many stories known to us proves that the whole of the ballad is based upon fantasy. It will, however, probably never be possible to authenticate the underlying historicity of the facts related in it. Both Kaliangĕt and Banjar are mentioned in the ballad, and such a drama of the murder of a faithful servant can have been enacted there, as it can anywhere else.

Interesting, however, is the endeavour on different sides to seek evidence in the modern sense, and the marked need of such evidence which that endeavour demonstrates.

Some of the items serving as evidence may be listed here. It was said that the names were of course symbolic ones, only given after death to people whose proper names were no longer known. There were no true descendants of Jayaprana, though the *desa* elder took the family to be his own. But stories were concentrated on the descendants of the *anak agung* and of the *patih* who had Jayaprana's death on their consciences.

It was said that the family of the *patih* would have liked to take part in the cremation, but that the *desa* had refused to consider the possibility; that the funds offered by the family disappeared without a trace; and that the car in which the family came had met with an accident on the journey home.

The family of the *anak agung* also put in an appearance in the rumours. This family has come down in the world, and now lives in Sukawati in southern Bali. There, too, there were stories of punishment by Jayaprana, but the family proved to be unfindable.

Furthermore, it was said that the name of Pura Prabu indicates that once there must have been a *puri* in Kaliangĕt, that Pura Jaran Guyang was founded on the spot where the *anak agung*'s horse fell in the mud, and that a learned gentleman called 'Stein' had discovered the foundations of the old palace in the bed of the

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

173 769 527 river (and had immediately taken them along with him).[28] The charter story also did yeoman service as historical evidence.

5

Parallel Movements

[114] 527 781 795 A certain amount of comparative material is to be found in Bateson's article "An Old Temple and a New Myth", and more is provided by three movements in northern Bali about which, so far as I know, nothing has been written.

Bateson describes the ceremonial contact between the villages of Bayung Gĕde and Katung. A *pĕmangku* in a trance discovered that a goddess in Bayung is the mother of a god in Katung. Hence a procession was organized, so that the son might visit his mother. During the visit both the *pĕmangku* and the female *balian* fell in a state of trance. In their utterances in the trance the mythical relation between the divinities was revealed, and this led the community to repair an old, abandoned temple, Pura Chĕkandik. Later there was a special ceremony in the temple at Bayung to ask questions of the gods regarding Pura Chĕkandik. During the ceremony the *balian* again fell in a trance and, using two methods of prophecy, described the plan of the temple and set the date for its anniversary festival or *odalan*.[29]

Reports from northern Bali also point towards the existence of several more or less parallel movements which do not fall under the category of generally occurring phenomena of *desa* religion.

795 761 About 1924 there is reported to have been a huge religious movement in Kubutambahan, in northern Bali. There an enormous fish was washed up, the like of which had never been seen. As a consequence a worship movement came into being. According to reports it was believed that the fish brought a special message from a *batara* who was approachable through a trance. No disbelief was tolerated, for the fish was itself a *batara*. In the course of time the movement subsided noiselessly.

795 781 Not long after the capitulation of Japan and the return of Dutch power on Bali a deer came running into the village of Bubunan.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

island. I-Tanggú told me this legend of how the land came to belong to the village:

"Hundreds of years ago, long before the Hindu-Javanese settled in Bali, the powerful king Bedaulú lost his favourite horse. Broken-hearted, the king sent the men of whole villages in all directions with orders to find the stray horse. The Tenganans went eastward [2] until, after days of travel, they found the corpse of the horse. The king asked them to name their reward, but their spokesman said they wanted only the land where the horse was found; that is, the area covered by the smell of the carcass. Although the horse had been dead for many days under the tropical sun, Bedaulú considered this a modest request and sent an official with a delicate sense of smell to measure off the land, starting from the place where the horse lay. Accompanied by the chief of Tenganan, he walked for days, but no matter how far the two went, the smell seemed to follow them. Finally the official was exhausted and could go no farther; he said he considered the land already covered enough, and the Tenganans were satisfied. When the official left, the chief pulled from under his clothes a large piece of the rotten flesh of the horse."

I-Tanggú told me the story as we went up to the top of a hill to look at one of the remains of the famous horse; the penis, "which had turned to stone." On the summit, under a large tree, was the relic, a long river stone shaped like a phallus by the action of water. Passing people had left offerings on top of it. I-Tanggú also said that the people of Tenganan are not permitted to work their vast lands with their own hands, but hire other Balinese to do the agricultural work for them. The aristocratic com-

[2] The people of Tenganan claim to have come originally from the district of Bedulu, named after King Bedaulú, near the once holy city of Pedjeng. The Bratan people, a branch of the same family, are supposed to have gone northward in search of the horse. But having failed, they did not dare to return and still live near Singaradja in Desa Bratan, where they constitute a special caste of silver-workers, and where Patimah has her silver shops. The Tenganans still recognize their alliance with the people from Bedulu and make special visits to them at the feasts of the temple of Samantiga. The people of Bedulu also go to Tenganan on special occasions to make offerings.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

was never enough food to feed him and he went about eating people. To provide him with a place to sleep, the villagers of Taro built the longest council house in Bali. He is supposed to have carved all the ancient monuments and sculptured caves with his own fingernails. In the highlands between the Batur and the Bratan, the Gunung Agung and the Batukau, there are many Bali Aga villages, and in some, like Selulung, Batukaang, and Tjatur, there are remains of ancient and primitive monuments; stone statues and small pyramids, some of which are purely Indonesian in character, while others show early Hindu, perhaps Buddhist influence. In the Bali Aga villages there is much that remains of the ancient race who once inhabited all of Bali, but who were to become the fascinating Balinese of today.

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF BALI

It seems difficult to reconcile the soft-mannered, peace-loving Balinese we know with the intrigue and violence of their turbulent past. For a thousand years the history of the island is a series of wars and heroic episodes that reached a dramatic climax only thirty years ago when the Balinese made a desperate but futile last stand against a modern army.

Bali was under the rule of Javanese kings from the earliest days of Hindu Java, but we first hear of Balinese dynasties in the tenth century of our era. In 991 A.D. a child was born of a Balinese king and a Javanese princess. He was named Erlangga and was sent to Java to marry a princess and to become a local chief in the kingdom of his father-in-law. Dharmawangsa, the ruler, was murdered suddenly and Erlangga took charge, saving the kingdom from total collapse and bringing it into even greater glory. Erlangga ruled during thirty difficult years, creating a strong bond between Java and his native Bali, which was then governed by Erlangga's brother in his name. Then, as befits a model hero of Hindu ideas, Erlangga suddenly renounced the kingdom he had made great and died a hermit under the guidance of his religious teacher, Mpú Bharada. Erlangga's kingdom was nearly

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

destroyed by a plague supposedly brought by the dreadful witch Rangda, queen of evil spirits, who was, according to historians, Erlangga's own mother. Out of the mythical struggle between the magic of the witch and that of the great king, arose the legend *Tjalon Arang* (see Chapter X) that made Erlangga the most famous figure of Balinese mythical history.

In later years Bali became independent of Java, but was again subjugated in 1284 by the army of Kertanagara, the king of Singasari (of the Tumapel dynasty). Singasari was destroyed eight years later by the new dynasty of Madjapahit, and Bali again became free, only to be reconquered in 1343 by General Gadja Mada for King Radjasanagara, under whom the entire Archipelago became a vassal of Madjapahit. During the next hundred years the power of the empire was undermined by civil wars and revolts in the colonies, and soon the great empire went into decline. The Balinese revolted against Madjapahit time and again, but the uprisings were put down in memorable battles, after which military figures like Arya Damar and Gadja Mada became rulers of Bali and to them the present Balinese aristocracy traces its origin. Gadja Mada was sent to Bali to subjugate the king of the Balinese Pedjeng dynasty, Dalem Bedaulú, who was supposed to have had the head of a pig. He was the owner of the famous horse of Tenganan. Bedaulú was a semi-demoniac character of supernatural origin who refused to recognize Madjapahit supremacy. (See page 37.) He was defeated by Gadja Mada, and Bali once more came under Javanese rule.

The expeditions of Gadja Mada were the last military displays of the empire. In the meantime Mohammedan missionaries were becoming influential in Java and were converting princes who proclaimed themselves sultans of their districts, repudiating their allegiance to Madjapahit. Soon peaceful propaganda turned into armed force; Mohammedan fanatics made war on Madjapahit, which finally collapsed after it was weakened by internal trouble. Stutterheim is of the opinion that the empire's destruction came gradually somewhere about the year 1520.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

hair, which reached to her feet, allowing only the bulging eyes and twisted fangs of her mask to be seen. Her tongue hung out, a strip of leather two feet long, painted red and ending in flames

Rangda (*from a Balinese Manuscript*)

of gold. A row of flames came from the top of her head. She wore white gloves with immense claws and in her right hand she held the white cloth with which she hid her horrible face to approach her unsuspecting victims. This cloth became a deadly weapon if it struck.

The character of Rangda has its origin in historical facts, now

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

173 754 interwoven with fantastic myth. (See page 354.) At the beginning of the eleventh century a Balinese prince became the king of Java, the great Erlangga. His mother, Mahendradatta, was a Javanese princess who ruled Bali with her Balinese husband, Dharmodayana, until the husband, suspecting her of practising evil magic, exiled her to the forest. When Erlangga's father died, leaving Mahendradatta a *rangda*, a widow, she conspired to use her band of pupils trained in the black arts to destroy Erlangga's kingdom. Professor Stutterheim says that her chief grudge against Erlangga was that he had failed to bring pressure upon his father not to take another wife. Moreover, none of the nobility would marry Rangda's beautiful daughter, Ratna Menggali, out of fear of the old witch, and her caste as a Javanese princess required a noble marriage or none at all. Before Rangda was vanquished by the superior magic of Mpú Bharada, Erlangga's teacher, she had killed nearly half of Erlangga's subjects by plagues brought by her *leyaks*. (According to Stutterheim, the sanctuary of Bukit Dharma near Kutri, Gianyar, is the burial place of the famous witch. There is kept a weather-beaten but still beautiful statue of the witch, remembered as the Queen Mahendradatta in the shape of the goddess of death, Durga.)

The following is an extract of the current Balinese version of the story of Rangda (translated from the Kawi by R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, in *De Calon Arang*):

539 754 "The old witch *rangda* Tjalon Arang had sworn to destroy the happy and prosperous Daha, Erlangga's kingdom, because of fancied insults to her beautiful daughter Ratna Menggali — the noblemen of Daha had refused her in marriage for fear of her mother's evil reputation. Tjalon Arang went with her pupils to the cemetery and they prayed and danced in honour of Begawati, the deity of black magic, to help them destroy Daha. The goddess appeared and danced with them, granting her permission, warning the witch, however, to preserve the centre of the kingdom untouched. The witches danced at the crossroads and soon people fell ill in great numbers.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

supremacy, becoming Banaspati Radja, "Lord of the Jungle," the Barong's name. This would explain the origin of the Rangda and Barong if it were not for the fact that the Balinese are thoroughly confused in regard to their identity; I have been told that Erlangga himself turns into a Barong to fight Rangda and that Batara Budda and the Barong are the same. It is obvious, nevertheless, that they are not purely Balinese: Rangdas are unknown in the oldest villages and the character and appearance of the witch presents a striking similarity with the wild-eyed, fanged demons of Tibet and northern India, where Tantric Buddhism holds sway. In Nepal there is a long-haired devil called *lakahe* who dances like Rangda, holding a white cloth which it uses as weapon. Both the Rangda and the Barong seem to belong to the Tantric Buddhist lore, perhaps to the now disappeared Bhairawa sect that flourished in Bali in Erlangga's time.

Bhairawa Buddhism remains the deliverance element in the Hindu-Balinese religion, a short cut to the release of the soul from the cycle of reincarnations, attained not by simple propitiation of gods, but by direct control of the supernatural by man's own magic powers. The Bhairawas paid homage to a sort of Durga — Sanghyang Berawi or Begawati, their deity of evil and death — and they influenced the higher cult with a new demonology, death cult, magic science, and magic terminology. It imparted a strong magic flavour to the national religion, but it disappeared as a separate sect. According to Lekkerkerker and Stutterheim, Buddhism, or, rather, Buddhist magic, was introduced in Bali about A.D. 96, perhaps by the apostles, the brothers Mpú Kuturan and Mpú Bharada from Kediri (Daha). To them is attributed authorship of the civil and religious laws of Bali. Mpú Bharada, hero of the *Tjalon Arang* and teacher of Erlangga, was the magician who vanquished Rangda and today remains the most important figure in the magic lore.

A good deal of speculation revolves around the significance of the word *Barong*, for which there is no acceptable explanation. The Malay for "bear," *baruang*, has been suggested, but Malay was a recently introduced language and there were no bears in Bali. The classic Barong is called *barong ketet* or *kekek*, but there are also Barongs in the form of tigers (*barong matjan*), of pigs (*barong bangkal*), of lions (*barong singha*); and once we saw one in the shape of an elephant (*barong gadja*). There are also Barongs in human shape like the giant puppets (*barong landong*) who, holy as they are, perform ribald slapstick comedy. The main characters of the *barong landong* are Djero Gedé, "The Big One," an evil giant identified with the fanged monster Djero Gedé

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

of hypotheses which would explain the present in terms stemming from an insufficiently known past.

In justice to Dr. Grader it must be said that he seems to have mentioned the Rangda connection with the Durga figure in passing, not intending to give it the stress which it receives when taken out of context. Actually, the decoration of the shrine in question is of minor importance in this temple, a head agrarian temple for dry agriculture. Along the front are large three dimensional figures of the whole dramatis personae of the Ramayana, with Kumbakarna, a giant figure, dominating them. Inside the second, inner court is an impressive carved throne of Surya, the Sun, flanked by the shrines to the male and female deities bearing Balinese names, *ratoe penaban sari, lanangistri*. Very careful investigations of the names given by Balinese temple members and priests to the various shrines within a temple, often very numerous, do not as a rule turn up any mention of Durga nor likeness recalling the familiar Rangda. Grader's study of Madénan, for example, an old style mountain village, gives seventeen named shrines and buildings within the village temple and, as one would expect, no mention of Durga or Rangda.[11] Goris' exhaustive study of Bali's head temple, Besakih, gives forty-nine named shrines and buildings, none for Durga or Rangda.[12] Those of us who worked especially on ceremonial in Bali over a period of years came to regard the existence of a named Durga shrine as very definitely a rarity, though Rangda masks kept in the temple were exceedingly common; and it was not unusual to find a set of three, four, or five Rangda masks all belonging to the same temple and said to be "related" (kin) to the Barongs and Rangdas of other villages in the region.

Before going on to actual instances of Rangda and Barong impersonations, a few words are in order on our knowledge of the historical period to which the Balinese refer the Rangda tales. Stutterheim refers the stories to the period of Erlangga, the eleventh century king whose mother was a Javanese and under whose rule the Javanese kingdom was split.[13]

Covarrubias, basing his view on Stutterheim's, states the historical background of the story as follows:

> At the beginning of the eleventh century a Balinese prince became the king of Java, the great Erlangga. His mother, Mahendradatta, was a Javanese princess who ruled Bali with her Balinese husband, Dharmodayana, until the husband, suspecting her of practising evil magic, exiled her to the forest.

[11] Grader, n.d.
[12] Goris, 1937.
[13] Stutterheim, 1935, *passim*.

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

When Erlangga's father died, leaving Mahendradatta a *rangda*, a widow, she conspired to use her band of pupils trained in the black arts to destroy Erlangga's kingdom."

He goes on to quote Stutterheim's statement that her chief grudge against Erlangga was that he failed to persuade his father not to take another wife. And one of the chief motifs of the Rangda stories, reiterated and played out again and again by the Balinese, is the one that Covarrubias mentions—that nobody will marry the daughter of the witch. The story of the epidemic she caused, how she went to the cemetery, dug out corpses, cut them to pieces, ate the members, drank the blood, and decked herself with entrails, all this is dwelt upon in the published version of *De Calon Arang* (*Tjalon arang*) taken from the palm leaf (*lontar*) books.[20] Mpu Bharada, the holy man, figures as the adviser to Erlangga and the champion of right who matches his supernatural powers against those of Rangda.

Vlekke in his history of the whole archipelago speaks of this period also as one marked by cataclysms, heroic ventures, and dire events. The Javanese king, Dharmavamça, Erlangga's father-in-law, he speaks of as "the first historical person of the Indonesian islands of whom we have more than a dim vision."

> He ordered the codification of the Javanese laws and fostered the growth of Javanese literature. He had some of the old Sanskrit texts translated into Javanese . . . saw to it that a Javanese version of the Hindu epic *Mahabharata* was composed . . .
>
> Dharmavamça . . . knew how to combine diplomacy and warfare with cultural activity. Under his rule Javanese authority over Bali was established.[21]

These factors in themselves would be sufficient to cause the celebration of the period in Balinese legend and dramatic plays. The introduction of the strange princess, with her unknown and mysteriously disturbing ways, her different speech and that of her court, the new cultural refinements of dance, dress, and posture, the fresh store of weird supernatural tales, all these must have made upon the relatively uncouth Balinese an impression which they continuously act out up to the present day.

Dharmavamça was not satisfied with extending his sway over Bali. He "forced a principality on the west coast of Borneo to recognize his overlordship." Then he set out to conquer Sumatra and to overthrow the Shrivijaya dynasty. Vlekke speaks of this last campaign:

[20] Covarrubias, 1937, p. 328.
[20] Poerbatjaraka, 1926.
[21] Vlekke, 1943, p. 30.

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

In a furious onslaught he (Dharmavamça) carried the war into the central part of that Sumatran empire and for several years during the last decade of the tenth century the throne of Shrivijaya was in constant danger of being overthrown. We know no details, but Dharmavamça's attack must have been beaten off, and Shrivijaya's retaliation, though delayed, was merciless. Its army, reinforced by its vassals from the Peninsula, swept over Java, took the capital, and set fire to the *Kraton*, the royal palace.

After the death of Dharmavamça the power of the Javanese kingdom was crushed and the various local potentates made themselves supreme in their districts. The empire appeared to have disintegrated. . . .

One of the consequences of the weakening of Shrivijaya was the revival of the Javanese kingdom under one of the most remarkable kings of Indonesian history, Airlangga (Erlangga) the son-in-law of the murdered Dharmavamça. This prince has left us, in a long inscription, the story of his amazing adventures. When he came from Bali, where his father was merely a local potentate, and tried to take possession of the throne of Java he naturally was opposed by the local rulers, who preferred the continuation of chaos to vassalage under a strong king.

Airlangga, like King Alfred of England, was obliged to live in hiding in the forests. The long years spent in solitude among the hermits of the woods and mountains were no lost time for the prince, for during them he gathered physical and moral strength to accomplish his task. To this period of abstinence and exercise in self-control the Javanese ascribe his ultimate success. Self-control practiced in conformance to Brahmanistic teaching naturally strengthened Airlangga's will-power, but to the theologians of Indonesia his experience meant more. They saw in it a period for the accumulation of the secret knowledge and power which they believed present in everything on earth and which finds its highest expression in the conscious use by initiates of the magic force. The use of this higher power was in itself no evil. Evil lay only in the misuse of it. Magic power was believed to be possessed by those persons in whom the gods chose to be reborn."

Vlekke, the sober historian, continues in this vein, until one begins to think there really must have been a stronger magic in those days than in our own. When he modulates to the story of Arjuna and to the famed Arjunavivaha tale which was written down in Erlangga's time, one is left with the feeling that indeed Arjuna and Erlangga may have been one and interchangeable. He continues:

King Airlangga had brought the Javanese state to a new life, but in spite of that his name was often cursed by his successors, who were driven to the use of the most demoniac devices to restore what he had broken by making a wrong use of secret knowledge. It is an historical fact that after Airlangga's death (1045?) the unity of the East Javanese kingdom was destroyed. According to the Javanese chronicles the king himself had decided to divide his realm between his two sons. The chronicles say that the king ordered a wise monk named Bharada (compare the Balinese story) who was said to be so well versed in the forces of the supernatural world that he could fly through

" *Ibid*, pp. 31-33.

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

the air, to draw the boundaries between the two parts. Countermagic hindered the completion of the monk's work, but the curse of division and eternal (sic) strife had been laid upon the country."

Wars, then, political strife, disunity, the division of the kingdom, the separation of Kadiri (Daha) and Djanggala (both names well known in Balinese theatre) form the background of events against which the legend of the Rangda has grown up. There is another factor of importance, on which Vlekke barely touches, but which must have been exceedingly conducive to the building up of all these reputations for supernatural power. That is the coexistence at that time in Java, and in Bali, of organized priesthoods serving the Buddhist and Sivaite faiths. Erlangga is said to have brought both priesthoods under government control "by appointing royal superintendants and by making the priests themselves royal officials."[11] One can imagine that during these times of division, conflicting loyalties, the introduction of foreign born princes and princesses into the courts must have been propitious for priestly intrigue and the matching of powers of holiness. Even today in Bali one can see a Sivaite and a Boda (Buddha) high priest practicing their very similar rituals a few feet away from each other at a great ceremonial; yet the followers of each high priest will tell tales of the outstanding power (*sakti*) of his priest, his strength of concentration and intense holiness.

It is a possibility, presented here only tentatively for lack of supporting evidence, that the masked figure of the Rangda was elaborated out of the Durga worship belonging to the Sivaite tradition, while that of the Barong developed in a parallel line from some form of the Buddhist worship. This hypothesis is not belied by the existence in China and in Japan of dragon masks, closely resembling the Balinese Barong in structure, function, and behavior—playing in the villages at New Year's, for example—for it might have been on a wave of Buddhism that the idea of the Barong reached all three countries. The lion-like mask, the body animated by two or more players, the function of the performance as an exorcism for the protection of the village, the giving of food and coins to him in return for his protection, these are common elements found in China and Japan as well. It is quite conceivable that the mask play, traveling with Buddhism, was diffused over this wide area (see Pl. X, a and b). The antagonism, then, of Rangda and Barong when they meet and match their supernatural powers in the Balinese play could contain the deeper

[11] *Ibid*, p. 37.
[11] *Ibid.*

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

temporary servitude, and this must have been more true before the influence of the Dutch government overspread the island. However, if it *was* the custom for twins to become slaves, that might explain both their reported high mortality and their custom of separation (regardless of whether or not they proposed to marry). For the old Rajă's of Bali ruled their kingdoms loosely, leaving each village its independent organization, themselves rarely venturing beyond their palace walls. From time to time they sent a Patih or emissary to collect tribute, or to bring back some offender against the crown to have his head chopped off. (Such is the picture suggested by the literature, the popular legends and dramatic plays representing older times.) In cases where two or more children had been born at once, it would have been easy enough to cheat the Rajă of his slaves by the adoption of the extra children into other houses, and the reported death of any child whose liability to servitude threatened. However the death of one or more of the children does not release the parents from the full obligation of banishment and the purification ceremonies prescribed by the village law. A crime against the community and a crime against the Rajă were two distinct things. In Kutri (Singapadu) boy and girl twins were born in September, 1933. Both died the day of their birth, before the *kubu* on the road to the graveyard had been finished for their reception. But the parents were banished just the same, and the full order of ceremonies took place after forty-two days.

This brings us to the question of whether the "wrongness" of boy and girl twins in Jabă families is a concept rooted in the ancient belief of the Balinese people antedating their conquest by Hindu-Javanese princes, or a concept spread among them by those conquerors. As has been seen from the notes on various peoples quoted above, the concept is characteristic not only of Southern British India, but widespread in great reaches of Oceania. It has been reported from the Philippines that the Nabaloi people, inhabiting Benguet, North Luzon, believe "if there are twins, one is the child of the *ampasit* (a malevolent spirit belonging to

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

It was forbidden by the Rajäs, but as the people were under the rule of different Rajäs, the customs differ.

"If the girl is born before the boy, of twins born to a Rajä, they may not marry, for she is older. Therefore it is not *salah* for the Jabä if the girl is born before the boy.

"Perhaps the custom arose because once a Rajä had boy and girl twins which were lucky, and once a Jabä had such twins which were unlucky. Superstition arises when people are afraid".

This young man, so superior to the superstition of the people, still admits that Jabä are *salah* if they have male and female twins of which the boy is born first. On this point he is in agreement with Idä Putu Maron, a Brahman scholar of Ubud, who said: "It is only called *bunching* if the boy is born first. If the girl is born first it is called simply *kembar*. In this case it is not a good sign for the Triwangsä, nor is it *salah* for the Jabä. But the people do not know this. They proceed with the purification of the village just as if it were *salah*.

"There was once in the ancient Pèjèng dynasty a Rajä who was a twin. He is called Dalèm Bunching. After this, the Rajä's, to enforce their power, ordered the Jabä to be *salah* when they had twins in the way of the Rajä. This was to make the people humble."

When we asked this informant about the twins' sexual connection in the womb, he said that he had never heard such a thing, but perhaps it was told the people by the Rajä's to make them ashamed, so that they would realize how *salah* they were.

Although Idä Putu Maron applies the name *bunching* only to twins of which the boy is born first, we have seen that it is generally applied to all male and female twins. But according to the lontars of Sanur and of Tabanan *bunching* is the name when the girl is born first, whereas if the boy is first it is called *silih asih*. The old men of Taro also said *bunching* if the girl is born first, and *salit* if the boy is first. The Padandä Gédé of Bongkasä also calls it *silih asih* if the boy is born first, saying that it is

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

The child of the last Mĕsulă was a son, Bédahulu, who got the head of a pig (*bedă*, different, (*h*)*ulu*, head).

The story goes that this son was very strong in magic power. So strong was he that he was able to take a kris and cut off his own head, and then place it back upon his shoulders again. Often in the palace he would tell his servant to cut off his head, and then replace it. But one day he was playing beside the river, and when he ordered the servant to cut off his head, the servant did so, and the head fell into the stream and was swiftly carried away by the current. The servant, in despair, saw a pig nearby, so he cut off its head and placed it upon the shoulders of the Prince. That is why he was called Bédahulu.

When he became Rajă his palace was moved from Pèjèng to Bĕdulu (called after him). He used to sit on high in the *balĕ tĕgĕh*, and the people were not allowed to look up at him. When they ate the long limp ferns they might not lift up their heads and drop them into their open mouths. If they disobeyed they were instantly killed, by a weapon hurled down from on high by the Rajă. But a little child looked up and went unnoticed, and so the news spread among the people that their Rajă had the head of a pig.

According to tradition this Bédahulu was the king who was defeated by Gajă Madă, the emissary of the royal family in Java to which the present rulers of Klungkung trace their ancestry. I have quoted his story because it makes the only link between the legendary Mĕsulă-Mĕsuli and any line of Balinese Rajă's which extends to the present day. But how slender is the historical significance of this

out of this tree, a male and a female. They were called Masula and Masuli; and married each other. He was made king of Bali by Mpu Kuturan." In the Kidung Pamañcangah (folio 1b-2a) the story is: "A man of great *sakti* (supernatural power), of demonic character, a danawă, was killed by Purubuta (Indra) with his *bajra*. He had to stay a long time in the *ayatana* (space between heaven and hell) after which he was to be reincarnated. He was born in Tatakalapa (in Mĕdang) and taken as a child by a hermit of the To-Langkir (Gunung Agung). Afterwards he was appointed king of Bali and named Masula-Masuli. He married his younger sister."

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

link may be judged from the legend of that ancestry, as related to me by Chokordă Anom, the keeper of the genealogies of the royal house of Klungkung. He said that in the beginning was a Brahman Panditā, who as a result of many penitences begat from a stone a son, called Sri Krĕsnă Kapakisan. This son married a Wijadari, a heavenly nymph. Although he himself was a Brahman, because he had not married a Brahman his four children by the nymph were Satryă's. It was his patih, Gajă Madă, who defeated Bĕdahulu and so put an end to that dynasty. The four children became rulers in Pasuruan, Blangbangan, Sumbawa (the queen), and Bali, the youngest, Dalĕm Kĕtut, coming to Bali after its conquest to set up his palace in Samplangan. His son moved the palace to Gèlgèl, and after five generations the Rajă moved to Klungkung, where the line has ruled up to the present time. The story of Sri Krĕsnă Kapakisan is supposed to refer to the conquest of Bali by the Majapahit forces.

Just how intimately the descendants from this miraculous past take their legendary tradition is shown by the affirmation of Chokordă Anom that all the Mĕsulă-Mĕsuli's, the seven generations of them, were born with two placentas. Such a birth, then, is the way of the Rajă. It is curious that the tradition of the twin king should have been kept alive by this Klungkung dynasty, which claims, that its ancestors defeated and put an end to the Pèjèng and Bĕdulu dynasty to which the legendary Mĕsulă-Mĕsuli belong. If it had been a king of the Klungkung or Gèlgèl dynasty who was a twin, one could better understand their insistence that for common people to have twins was an affront to the Rajă. Chokordă Anom stated that there had never been a twin in those dynasties. But the Padandă of Intaran (Sanur) had a story to tell of twins in the Gèlgèl dynasty. There were three generations of boy and girl twins, he said, each of which grew up to marry each other. The twin of the third generation was the king Dalĕm Sĕganing. In those days the kings were so holy that they did not die, but when they grew old and their

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

845* 173

life was over, one day their bodies disappeared (*moksah* or *musnă*). They went straight to heaven. But Dalĕm Sĕganing was not satisfied with the one wife who was his sister, and he took many women. And so when his time came he died and his body remained. It was necessary to cremate him, and a *nagabandhă* (a great serpent which precedes the cremation tower of high nobles) was used for the first time to lead his soul to heaven. And *nagabandhă's* have been used ever since.

Sĕganing, or Sagĕning, as a king of Gèlgèl, is another traditional character, many times mentioned in the Kidung Pamañcangah, but there is nothing about his being a twin. The story is a legend which has become attached to his name. It shows several points of similarity with the Mĕsulă-Mĕsuli story, the repeated generations of boy and girl twins, who were allowed only to marry each other, and the arresting of the divine cycle to twins if the king wed any other than his sister. Although I did not find this particular point in any other legend, stories of the supernatural birth of a boy and a girl who become the ancestors of a tribe or family, are not rare in Bali. Here is one from Kĕtèwèl, as told by the Prĕbĕkĕl of his own ancestry.

When Kĕtèwèl was still a jungle a *dukuh*, a very holy man, dwelt there. He built a *sanggah* (household shrine) of bamboo.

The Rajă Dalĕm Gèlgèl came to the forest to hunt. He was accompanied by his priest and many of his subjects. But they saw neither birds nor beasts. They came to I Dukuh and asked why they saw no prey. I Dukuh answered, "If the Rajă wishes to see birds and beasts in plenty, he must worship at my *sanggah*".

The Rajă was very angry at this impertinence. He returned to his palace. But the following day he sent two hundred men with the order to put I Dukuh to death. They came in canoes along the shore. But as their canoes touched land at Kĕtèwèl, a heavy rain came down, and the two hundred men fell ill upon the beach, and died.

When this news had reached the Rajă, he believed I Dukuh to be indeed a very holy man. And the next day

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

*845 •173 he sent his High Priest with only six men, to ask for the soul (*jiwa*) of I Dukuh. The Rajă wished to get this powerful soul for himself.

The High Priest came to I Dukuh in the forest and told him the king's desire. I Dukuh agreed. He said: "First I must purify myself, and then you may do as you like with me". He bathed himself, and washed his hair, and when it was done the followers of the Priest killed him. The Priest ordered his body to be buried, but when the men wanted to bury him, they found the body had disappeared (*musna*).

A child of I Dukuh heard voices speaking in the forest. He looked about, but there was no one there. Then he heard that the voices issued from a *kětèwèl* tree. He took an axe and cut open the tree, and out came two children, a boy and a girl. It was the spirit of I Dukuh which had been reborn (*numitis*) in these children.

The children were called Iri Suchi and Mas Suchi. They grew up and married each other, and their descendants are the family of the Prěběkěl, which has lived there ever since, in the place called Kětèwèl after the tree from which the children were born.

*845 173 176 There exist in Kětèwèl twin gods, Déwă Kěmbar, in the form of sacred bronze figures kept with a number of others in the Pură Jogan Agung. They are two males, called Mas Mětěkèl and Mas Murug (see illustration). Such figures are believed by the archeologists to represent dead kings whose memory was perpetuated by the making of their likeness to be worshipped as gods. I found no legend relating to these Déwă Kěmbar, but an unusual reversal of the customs regarding twins is due to them. In Kětèwèl, because of the twin gods which are two males, the birth of twins of like sex, either two boys or two girls, is considered more *salah* than the birth of a boy and a girl. Twins of like sex are banished for forty-two days to the graveyard, and ten people must watch them, whereas *bunching* twins are placed before the Poeră désă, and only four *gěbagans* are thought necessary. When the time comes for the ceremony of puri-

*845

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

fication, a larger *mĕcharu* is given for *anak kĕmbar*, with a dog, a pig, a duck and five chickens as offerings, and a Sĕngguhu officiates with the Padandă. For *anak bunching* only five chickens are offered, and the Pĕmangku assists the Padandă. In neither case do they have the *mĕlis*.

Likewise the caste distinctions are more strict in Kĕtèwèl, for only Brahmans and Rajă Satrya's have the right to have twins, either *kĕmbar* or *bunching*, and all the smaller nobility together with the Jabă are *salah*. The people know, of course, that their taboo on *anak kĕmbar* differs from the custom of the surrounding villages. They say it is because in Kĕtèwèl they have gods which are twins and the others have not. The idea that the figures are representations of ancient kings is unknown to them. But every village may have its own gods in its temples, which are worshipped by the people of that village, and the people of other villages have nothing to do with them.

Part IV
What the Lontars say.

One of the Balinese lontars, called Bhagawan Garga, has in part to do with twins. A copy of this lontar was in the possession of a Padandă Siwă in Bangli, another in Gianyar, and a third belonged to the Padandă Bodă of Pĕliatan. All three priests referred to this lontar when questioned about *manak salah* or *kĕmbar bunching*. The story of the one from Bangli may roughly be summarized as follows:

This is the story of people with boy and girl twins.

The Rajă of Bali goes to meet the holy man, Idă Bagawan Lindu Tawang, in Lĕmah Rĕkă (Lĕmah Tulis). The holy man receives him at his meditation place. The Rajă takes a humble place on the lower level (*pemarĕkan*), but when he has introduced himself as a pupil of Bagawan Sunyă Murti Bali, the holy man welcomes him and leads him inside the palace. Because the Prince has followed the teachings of Bagawan Sunyă Murti Bali, the holy man gives him his daughter in marriage.

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

845 539 193 Sang Mpu Pradah (the holy man) becomes Teacher-Priest in Maospait.

Now Idă Mpu Kuturan had a son, called Idă Sang Bujanggă Bali, who in turn has a son already three months old, in appearance like a perfect jewel, his body perfect, he has no flaws. Mpu Kuturan gives him the name of Idă Batară Guru. Because he is the son of Idă Sang Bujanggă Bali, he must become the teacher of the Rajă's of Bali. When Idă Mpu Sunyă Murti (Mpu Kuturan?) had explained how he became superlatively *tri murti*, pure, he died and went back to the home of the gods.

It is said Batară Bagawan Indră Chakru (the child above called Idă Batară Guru?) taught the Prince of Bali. When the pupil had learned what the teachings were, Bagawan Chakru died. The Rajă addressed his people thus: If there are people in the country of Bali who affront the Rajă by having twins *bunching*, the country of the Rajă becomes unclean; if twins *bunching* are born in the land of Bali, within the limits of the village, every house of man, every man is unclean in the unclean village. If it happens, they are banished by the people of the desa, far from the village. They must be placed at the crossroads where it is lonely, they may not come near the village. Up to the time of the ceremony, the country of the Rajă is threatened, the meditations of the Rajă are disturbed, rice is dear, plantings do not prosper, water is scarce, there is famine in the country of the Rajă. After forty-two days' time, these people must have the purification — *prayaschita*, *tĕbusan*, *amancha panggungan*, *linukatan (ngĕlukat)*; *ngĕlungah* at dark moon, *mĕkiis* at full moon, in the presence of *Bujanggă* and *Siwă* (interpreted Sĕngguhu and Padandă Siwă), each of these must officiate, so that the microcosmos and the macrocosmos may be purified. Moreover the galungan festival may not take place for three times, if it is not three times stopped, calamity to the Two Worlds, many beasts fall dead, all the plantings fail, the meditations of the Rajă are burned up. If the right way is strictly followed the Two Worlds become prosperous, the beasts and plantings healthy. If a Rajă or a *Bujanggă* or a *Brahmană* has twins *bunching*, the country prospers and there are no disasters.

[183]

After this, the king died. He who became king was one of boy

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

and girl twins. He prayed and prayed, he studied and meditated to become holy, he prayed at the Gunung Agung, day and night he fasted and did not drink nor sleep, for he was in real ascesis. He concentrated in the *lumbung* (sanggar) on the Gunung Agung (Bĕsakih) on the day of full moon in the tenth month, together with the Bujanggă and Siwă (Pedanda's Bodă and Siwă), as witnesses. This was the behavior of the Rajă, meditation on the *lumbung*, in order that the rule of the Rajă's of Bali should be strong and long-lasting.

It will be seen that this "story" is far from clear, and Balinese scholars themselves do not seem to understand it. The various names given to the characters cannot be definitely identified with those to whom they refer. And other obscurities of language are interpreted according to the prejudice of the reader. For instance, in the passage "if there are people in the country of Bali who affront the Rajă by having twins *bunching*" the word *wong*, meaning simply people, is taken by the authority from Bangli to mean "people of Sudră or Wésyă caste". Another would interpret it to mean only Sudră's, another all people except the Rajă himself and his priests, as stated later on in the passage. But this again is not clear, for the phrase *Sang Bujanggă Brahmană* is extremely obscure and open to many interpretations. *Bujanggă* is a title claimed not only by Siwă and Bodă Padandă's but by Sĕngguhu's as well. Sĕngguhu's would here claim that the word Bujanggă refers to them, and the word Brahmană does not modify it, that is, giving immunity from *manak salah* to Sĕngguhu's *and* to Brahmans. When referring to the celebration of the ceremonies, the phrase *Bujanggă Siwă* was interpreted Sĕngguhu and Padandă Siwă — when referring to the meditations of the Rajă, Sang Bujanggă Siwă was interpreted Padandă Bodă and Padandă Siwă. I merely call attention to these discrepancies so that the reader may take them into account. It will be noted that the name of the king who was a twin is not disclosed.

The lontar Bhagawăn Garga has a further passage on twins:

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

Neither of these sorts of twins threatens the country. But the lontar says it is just as well to have the ceremony or the *charu*.

And if anyone has three children born at once, of which two are boys and one a girl, that is called *katiruju* (*kati-juru* in the Tabanan lontar), and is extremely dangerous to the country, and these children must be set down on the sea-shore. According to custom two of the children are cast away, and then picked up by another person, not their mother. In this case there must be the ceremony *mĕdudus* at the Balé Agung.

And if anyone brings forth one boy and two girls, they do not become *sĕbĕl* and their house is not moved, because in this case, it is said, the country begins to be prosperous and healthy, and diseases will not spread.

This set of rules makes apparent gradations in the wrongness of *manak salah*, so that the only really evil birth seems to be when to low-caste people a girl is born before a boy and there are two placentas — except of course in the case of the very unlucky triplets. And the matter of the placentas is based on physiological fact, for if the two adhere they are considered as one. The obscurities in the texts allow [illegible] interpretation in favor of those concerned. In a case of boy and girl twins born to Jabă people in Sanur last year, the family was not banished, no *mĕcharu* was held, and the villagers did not consider themselves *sĕbĕl*, but continued to go to the temples only because the boy had been born first. The Padandă of Intaran, and the Brahman Balian, who normally should have officiated, did not approve of their omitting the ceremonies, and said that at the latest the people must have a *mĕcharu* during the ninth month (four months after the birth).

A report has been made in the magazine *Bhawanagara* covering the ancient adat of two Bali Agă villages in the district of Bangli, Bu'ungan [1]) and Lumbuan [2]). The an-

[1]) Idă Bagus Adiptă, *Menjelidiki adat-adat koena didésa-desa dalem bilangan negura Bangli. Bhawanagara*, Tahoen III, No. 4-5, 1933.

[2]) Idă Bagus Adiptă, *Menjelidiki adat-adat koena didésa-désa dalem bilangan negara Bangli. Bhawanagara* Tahoen II, No. 8-9, 1933.

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

*845 184 173 cestors of the inhabitants of these villages lived in the district of Karang Asĕm, but in a time of war with Bulèlèng the people moved *en masse* to the present sites in the Bangli district, bringing with them their lontars, sacred objects, and the rules for their whole complex social organization. In Bu'ungan the rules for twins are reported as follows:

If anyone bears twins which are two males or two females (*anak kĕmbar*), as soon as these children are aged one month and seven days and as soon as the ceremony *tutug kambuhan* [539] has taken place, at once must be the ceremony *mĕsakap* (*matĕlah-tĕlah dĕsă*) at the crossroads, performed by the *balyan konèng* (trance-doctor). The offerings are the same as enumerated for marriage which wrongs the adat.

After three days the *kramă dĕsă* (group of villagers) must *mĕlis*, and the twins with the mother and father receive holy water (*mĕlukat*) to be freed from their uncleanness (*sĕbĕl*).

The expenses of this and also of the *pĕmĕndak Batară* (the reception of the gods) on their return from *mĕlis* are all to the account of those who have the twins.

*845 829 825 Before we consider the rules for *manak salah*, it will be well to note what is said about wrong marriages in Bu-ungan, where the *mĕsakap*, *mĕlis*, and *pĕmĕndak Batară* correspond with those for twins of like sex. It is in such connection that one wonders if the whole twin superstition does not rest, not on the idea of incest itself, but on the same basis as that for incest taboos — the concept of the way of animals in contradistinction to the way of men. For if it is the way of animals to mate with their near relatives, it is also their way to have more than one child at a time. Twins of like sex are already bad because they are born like beasts, and twins of unlike sex are worse because of the incestuous connotation, the improper intimacy of brother and sister in the womb. The Bu'ungan [835] report definitely states the thought-connection of animals with incest:

[181 cont.]

538 [779] a. Tutur or satwa, dogmatic writings of moral or mystical purport.

[671] b. Agama or codes of law, of which there are seven in Buleleng alone: Adigama, Dewagama, Purwa digama, Dewadanda, etc.

[755 757] c. Husada or Huwisada and Wisada, medical works containing recipes for charms besides the summary of actually useful prescriptions.

[173] d. Historical works called Babad by Friedrich, such as the Usana bali, the Usana Djawa, etc., and genealogical registers.

4. Kidung, poems in more recent meter, which are divided into:

a. Kidung in the ordinary sense, originally Javanese poems in Kawi miring which were taken to Bali and preserved there unaltered or with Balinese names, words, and word formations.

[182]

b. Gaguritan. These are either Balinese translations or adaptations of originally Javanese or Malayan stories, or original Balinese poems. It can thus be seen that only the gaguritan is purely national literature, although the language is not always pure and is often interlarded with Javanese poetic words (1).

1. Friedrich, "Voorloopig verslag omtrent het eiland Bali [Preliminary report on the island Bali]" Verh. Bat. Gen. v. K. en W., Vol. XXII, pp. 21 ff. Friedrich, Tijdschrift v. Nederl. Indië, Vol. 3, pp. 245 ff.